4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

In another dance the peccaries are pursued by hunters and their dogs. The peccaries take refuge in a hole in the ground. The hunters then simulate the construction of a trap by standing with legs astraddle to represent an alley of stakes; the peccaries try to escape between the lines of stakes and are killed by a hunter at the end of the alley.

An abbreviated description of a peccary festival is given by Strömer (1932). This is a hunting ceremony in which the skulls of animals play a role. Sexual intercourse is performed ritually by the participants. At one point in the ceremony, the performers dance on a heap of peccary hair while they sing an invocation of success in peccary hunting.

At a special men's festival in honor of the sib ancestors the sacred trumpets are blown. At the conclusion of the ceremony, a special beverage is poured through the trumpet into a cup and drunk by the participants. The ceremony, performed by men alone since women are not permitted to see the trumpets, is said to propitiate the sib ancestors and to obtain their good will toward their descendants.

At the tree festival a tree is set up in the center of the dwelling house; the participants stand around it while the shaman smokes tobacco and invokes on the house the protection of Karusakaibō, the creator god.

SHAMANISM AND SORCERY

The shaman determines the most favorable time for war parties, exorcises evil spirits, takes a leading part in ceremonies, cures the sick, detects sorcerers, and intervenes to terminate eclipses of the sun. Illness is believed to be caused by the intrusion of a worm into the patient's body, or by sorcery. The shaman cures the intrusion by blowing smoke on the patient's body and sucking out the worm. When many deaths or much sickness occur the malevolence of a sorcerer is suspected; the shaman detects the sorcerer and informs the chief of his identity. The chief appoints two warriors to follow the sorcerer until they have a favorable opportunity to kill him. Some hints as to the technique of sorcery are given in Strömer's vocabulary. He records the word, yamain, meaning "to cut off the head and set it back again," and the word, yakut, "hole in the earth in which to bury the head"—both with reference to the practice of sorcery.

Sorcery is said to be virtually the sole cause of homicide among the *Mundurucú*. Adultery is punished by the expulsion of the guilty persons. When two men become antagonistic, one of them takes his hammock and goes to live in the men's house of another village.

MYTHOLOGY

The creator god and culture hero of *Mundurucú* mythology is Karusakaibō (Caru-Sacaibè (Tocantins, 1877)); Karusakaibe (Kruse, 1934);

754 The most common affliction of the supernatural was caushi. The caushi was not a spirit but an object carved to a certain form by a sorcerer, given malignant animation by him, and sent sometimes against certain people, but usually against anyone that it might encounter. All illness was caused by caushi and, therefore, ultimately by witchcraft.

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756 Shamanism

The chief function of the Mundurucú shaman was curing. Among his other duties was the ceremonial one of guarding the people against the attacks of Yuruparí during certain rites. He was also responsible for putting in a deep sleep by a magical spell the people of a village about to be attacked and for feeding the spirit "mothers" of the game.

The power of shamanism was hereditary in the patrilineal line and present since birth. All the children of a shaman, including daughters, possessed the power, but, today, the women do not practice any more. In the aboriginal culture, female shamans had only a few specific ceremonial functions and did not cure. Curing was done by the common practice of blowing smoke on the sick person and then extracting the evil object, or caushi, by massage and suction. The shaman then prescribed certain herbs and roots applied externally or drunk mixed with water that were supposed to heal the internal damage done by the evil object. During the cure, the shaman smoked a large cigarette to generate the necessary curative smoke, but he did not inhale in large enough quantities to produce tobacco narcosis as do the

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756 [276] Tenetehara and Tapirapé shamans.[24] This was done only when the shaman "traveled" to find the "mother of the game" in order to feed her. The shaman performed his services free of charge and was in no way liberated from the work of the men. He enjoyed prestige due to his position as a curer and also due to fear of him as a potential sorcerer.

● 754 Only the shaman had the sorcerer's power. Others could learn the effective techniques, but they were not able to launch the evil object into the air or endow it with its malignant force. He was also capable of turning himself into a jaguar and creating other jaguars that he sent against people. The penalty for sorcery was death. This severity is explained by the Mundurucú, who say, "If we had no sorcerers there would be no sickness and people would not die so fast. So we have to kill them." At present, only men practice shamanism and are recognized as being shamans and only men are killed as sorcerers, but Tocantins mentions three cases of women accused of witchcraft in the latter part of the nineteenth century.[25]

[753] All sickness and death were believed to be caused by sorcery, but it was only when a few people died that a powerful shaman was asked to detect the sorcerer. Only another shaman could do this because "the shaman is able to see everything." The shaman might not immediately tell the

24. Wagley, 1942.

25. Tocantins, 1877, pp. 109-111.

754 residents of the afflicted village who was the guilty party, but after the illness became serious he informed them and they took the decision as a group to kill the accused. His closer relatives were not informed of these plans, but they made no attempt to avenge his death in the face of the community imposed punishment. Most executions were carried out by the suspect's fellow villagers, but this was not invariably the case. Close relatives of persons supposedly bewitched could be suspected, but this was not generally the case, for the Mundurucú sorcerer is said to usually release his evil objects (caushi) or jaguars against anyone that they may encounter. The only explanation for such generalized malice is that "the sorcerer is angry at everything."

Ceremonies

796 In addition to the ceremonies that centered around the trophy head, two ceremonies, both of which can be referred to as "Festival of the Game," were devoted to the spirit "mothers" as a means of maintaining their good will and thus insuring better hunting. One of these, the Arsierai, was held only every three to five years and only in one village at a time, as nearly the whole rainy season was consumed by the festivities. This ceremony was celebrated in a short form that lasted only ten days and which was known as the Da'earuperip. It occurred almost yearly between the Arsierais and shifted its location from village to village every year. Hundreds of visitors from villages all over

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Mundurucú these are the essential functions of chieftainship, and contemporary informants commonly ascribe the decline of nucleated-village life to the disappearance of such attributes of leadership.

Of even greater importance to the integration of Mundurucú society, warfare activated and intensified male unity and values, both of which functioned to make matrilocality viable. Finally, the only permissible intrasocietal mechanism for the release of aggression was sorcery and the killing of sorcerers, and the previously cited cases indicate that they created as many tensions as they resolved. Actually, the only way in which hostility could be unleashed without damage to the society was against the outside world. Paradoxically for a people who considered all the world as an enemy, the true cause of enmity came from within their own society.

Much of the preceding argument has hinged upon the matrilocal and patrilineal character of Mundurucú society. In a recent article I showed that Mundurucú social structure in the 19th century could only be understood as a result of post-contact change and that the aboriginal society was organized on patrilocal and patrilineal lines (Murphy 1956). The fact that the Mundurucú were vigorous warriors before their shift to matrilocality suggests that warfare acquired new functions subsequent to that change and consequent upon it. These new functions, as they have been outlined in this paper, provide us with an understanding of how Mundurucú society remained cohesive and maintained its boundaries through more than a century of contact with the whites.

We will now broaden our analysis of the function of warfare within Mundurucú society to the closely related problem of its function within the structure of Mundurucú-Brazilian relationships. The two bases of this symbiosis were trade and war. Matrilocality evolved as a result of trade relations with the whites, but it was workable in a patrilineal society only when intrasocietal hostilities were repressed and latent antagonisms channeled into intense warfare. Warfare and the connected ceremonies also helped to perpetuate the system of clanship in this newly-evolved type of society, for they constituted almost the only occasions upon which corporate functions of the fragmented descent groups were exercised. Conversely, matrilocality and patrilineality provided the structure for warfare on a tribal scale and thus enabled the Mundurucú successfully to pursue hostilities against comparatively undisrupted tribes during a period when their own numbers were being reduced through disease and emigration to Brazilian settlements. And by frequently undertaking raids in the service of the whites, the Mundurucú had solidified their peaceful relationship with the technologically and numerically superior society. The Brazilians were willing to respect the autonomy of the Mundurucú as long as it was useful to them. We may conclude that the system of of matrilocality and patrilineality and the institution of warfare were mutually reinforcing and served to maintain Mundurucú society during a period that witnessed the disappearance or dissolution of many of their neighbors.

726 burned, men and women killed and decapitated, and children stolen.

721 It has been said that, although individual warriors sought glory, the primary purpose of war was social and only secondarily the gratification of individual egos. The patterns of boasting and vainglory common among North American Indians of the high plains were absent among the Mundurucú.

[626 554] 157 A young man who made great claims of prowess was pushed to the fore during the actual attack as a means of suppressing ego-assertion and not to validate it.

181 577 578 The suppression of individual interests in favor of those of the collectivity of Mundurucú is consistent with the dual ethic and world-view of this war-oriented society. The joy and pride that they obtained from external aggression is matched only by the horror aroused by internal strife. A Mundurucú man never struck another in anger. If dissension arose, the principals temporarily avoided each other rather than show open hostility. Intragroup tensions did exist for a variety of causes, among which rivalry over women and fear of sorcery were predominant. The culture provided few internal cathartic mechanisms for latent agression, and, in fact, it enjoined social harmony most positively.

754 [689] The execution of sorcerers was the only situation in which drastic action was taken against another Mundurucú, and the decision to kill the suspected witch had to be taken by the group as a whole. Sorcery and accusations of sorcery were common in all villages, and the subject was so feared that peo-

754 ple were loathe to even speak of it. Interestingly, the sorcerer was not thought to practice his art against particular individuals, but was believed to make and disperse evil spirits which might attack anyone with whom they came into contact. A general malevolence was said to pervade the sorcerer; he was simply "angry at everything."

754 Sorcery provides interesting insights
181 into the mechanisms by which the
577 Mundurucú ethic was maintained and the dangerous forces which they believed to be inherent in man and nature kept in check. While the practice of black magic may be considered as a covert channel for the latent aggressions of the sorcerer, only persons who had inherited shamanistic power were able to manipulate the evil forces. But the locus of sorcery and its punishment was social and not individual. Just as black magic was directed towards society, at large, so was the ultimate function of retribution of importance to the well-being of the social system.

[724] The universe of the Mundurucú was permeated with potentially harmful supernatural beings and forces, which could be appeased and controlled with proper techniques, and the killing of the sorcerer was a personalized means towards this important end. Furthermore, the generalized anti-social tendencies attributed to the sorcerer were a projection of similar suppressed emotions carried by the population. The destruction of the practitioner of black magic was effectively the destruction of centrifugal tendencies within the society.

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577 Internal harmony within the house-

[p.372 (B)]

554 to stand too far above his fellows. A
156 Mundurucú never boasted of his
577 achievements, nor would he compare himself to others. In fact, it is most difficult to elicit any sort of comparative evaluation of the moral worth of particular individuals from any Mundurucú.

439 The prevailing tone of Mundurucú
577 values is perpetuated in the modern trade situation, for Mundurucú do not
[441] make commercial transactions among themselves. Trade with whites is expected and sought, but those Mundurucú who conduct trade with their fellows as employees of the whites and on behalf of them are recognized to operate outside the ethical system and attract considerable antagonism. Thus, the modern economic ethic of the Mundurucú is colored by the same dualism as existed in their warrior period.

186 The duality of Mundurucú ethics
577 is closely associated with the institutional core or nexus of the culture. Hostility towards the outer world goes beyond mere distrust and suspicion; it is a positive assertion and celebration of the integrity and cohesiveness of the society. While acting as an escape-valve
[721] for intra-social aggressions, warfare served to produce tensions which, paradoxically, contributed towards maintaining balance in the social structure.
● [754] Witchcraft may be said to have functioned in much the same way.

181 Manly virtues were esteemed in
577 Mundurucú culture, and hunting ability was valued second only to strength in war. Male unity in a hostile world was expressed in the semi-miltary or-

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

756 is used by the shaman to extract from afflicted people the *yakíp*, or malignant object sent by the mother of the game. All these instruments are inert until the shaman blows power-giving tobacco smoke upon them. They are then thought to be "alive" and to have "strength."

Disease and Its Treatment

753 In order to understand fully the important role that the shaman plays among the Mundurucú, their theories of disease and affliction must be outlined. There is practically no human misfortune that cannot be attributed to supernatural influences. If a Mundurucú suffers a slight cut on his foot, he may admit that it was due to sheer mischance. But if he incurs a serious wound, the shaman is usually consulted and invariably attributes the affliction to the vengeance of the mother of the game. Any infection, pain, or other aftereffect of the wound is generally thought to be the work of the *yakíp*, which is sent by the mother of the game or by the soul of the animal offended by the wounded man. Similarly, a snake bite, a fall from a tree, or any other serious misadventure that cannot be classified as a disease is usually diagnosed by the shaman as the vengeance of the animal world.

Diseases also are the result of evil supernatural influences. But whereas serious accidents are attributed to the spirit mother and therefore to the negligence or stupidity of the stricken person, disease strikes people regardless of their activities. And though afflictions that have clear and obvious causes, as cuts or snake bites, are also thought to be the vengeance of the supernaturals associated with the animals, disease is caused by sorcerers. All sorcerers are shamans who consciously [754] wish to hurt their fellow men. The sorcerer causes disease by modeling a variety of objects and blowing smoke upon them to give them life. The evil objects, called *cauši*, are then wafted off on the wind to wander through the air until they encounter some human. Invisible to ordinary people, they enter the body and cause illness. The particular illness depends upon the material out of which the *cauši* was modeled and the shape given it by the sorcerer.

Two distinct processes are required for the proper cure of illness. First the *cauši* 755 is extracted from the sick person's body by the shaman, and he then prescribes 757 certain herbal remedies to repair the damage caused by it. The first part of the cure is uniform for all *cauši;* the herbal remedy prescribed is, however, specific for the malady.

755 The process of extracting a *cauši* is extremely simple. The sick person strips his or her clothes from the part of the body where the pain is localized and sits or 276 lies on the ground. The treatment most often takes place in the patient's dwelling, but the shaman sometimes receives the ill in the men's house. After the patient is prepared, the shaman takes one of his large cigarettes, which are wrapped in a thin layer of the inner bark of the tauarí tree, and commences to smoke. As he smokes he crouches over the sick person and intently stares at his body. The shaman does not inhale or swallow excessive amounts of smoke, and narcotic effects are specifically denied. Rather, the smoke heightens his extra-visual ability

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

in a manner thought to be quite lewd and suggestive. The other women look upon the *yapõ* as a threat to their own marital happiness, but blame the men for her condition. Any sufficiently disreputable and irreverent shaman can make a *yapõ* of a woman whom he desires. But, unlike love magic in most societies, once he creates her he must be prepared to share her with others, for his magic makes her want any and all men.

To make a *yapõ* the shaman prepares a paste of sorva sap and urucú and mixes it thoroughly with the roasted and powdered body of the uirapurú bird. Smoke is blown upon the preparation and it is magically sent into the body of the unsuspecting woman. Another preparation is made with a piece of uirapurú meat, and a third is made by mixing brilliantine with either the brains of the boa boa bird or of the matrinchão fish. The use of the uirapurú as a love charm or symbol is widespread in the Amazon region, especially among Tupian groups. The Mundurucú believe it to be an enchanted bird and explain that, as the other birds of the forest follow the uirapurú, so also will the men follow a woman who has been bewitched with a charm made from its body.

The *yapõ* is not physically damaged by the spell cast over her by the shaman. She appears happy and laughs constantly; her appetite for men is insatiable, but she enjoys herself thoroughly when in their company. However, her condition is viewed with disfavor by the other women, and she becomes marginal to female society. Also, she soon becomes the subject of widespread gossip and ridicule, both of which are unendurable to a Mundurucú. For these reasons, the *yapõ* generally goes to the shaman to be cured. He extracts the charm by the same techniques used to take out *cauši* and then recommends a preparation made of sorva sap and the root of a tree near which a jaguar has slept or rolled about. The woman applies this preparation to her face and body until she feels that she has been completely cured. The remedy is considered to be effective in keeping men away as it partakes of the qualities of the jaguar, which is considered an ugly and repulsive animal by the Mundurucú.

The treatment is not always effective. A young woman of the village of Cabruá went to the shaman to be cured of her condition. During the following days a marked change was noted in her deportment. She smiled demurely behind her hand and no longer fixed the men with direct and inviting glances. But as the days passed, she returned slowly to her old ways and was soon meeting the men in the underbrush surrounding the village. When the shaman who had performed the cure was asked why she behaved in this manner, he shrugged and replied, "Sometimes the treatment works, and sometimes it does not."

Sorcery

When his power is used for socially approved purposes, the shaman is accorded the respect due a major benefactor of the community. But his power can be used for evil ends, and witchcraft is invariably believed to emanate from shamans gone bad. The sorcerer or *ibõkaipat* is thought by the Mundurucú to engage in his nefarious practices with conscious and deliberate intent. All shamans have

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

754 knowledge of the techniques of witchcraft, and the transformation of the shaman into a sorcerer requires only his personal motivation. He is not thought to practice witchcraft with limited goals in mind; once he begins to practice black magic, he continues until apprehended and executed.

The sorcerer usually becomes one because, as the Munduruçú say, "he is angry at everybody" or, less commonly, because he has a grievance against some particular person. He never practices his art on behalf of another person. His chief means of wreaking harm upon his fellowman is through the creation of the previously described, disease-causing *cauši*. He is believed to select an isolated place in the forest to which he frequently repairs to manufacture the intrusive objects. These are spread broadcast on the wind and attack those people with whom they come into contact. Consistent with the belief that the sorcerer has a hostile attitude toward all his fellowmen, the Munduruçú claim that the *cauši* is not usually directed at particular people or at the sorcerer's own village. In actual practice, however, when disease strikes the people of a village a fellow villager possessing shamanistic power is almost invariably suspected. But evidence suggested that the *cauši* is seldom used against particular persons toward whom the sorcerer has some grievance. One informant stated that "the sorcerer's aim is not that good." And it was also specifically disavowed that the *cauši* attack the sorcerer's kinsmen.

When the sorcerer wishes to destroy selected individuals, he usually does so through his power of sending supernatural jaguars against them. These creatures can be made by the shaman by blowing smoke upon the teeth and claws of a dead jaguar. Under ordinary circumstances, the jaguars cannot be seen, but they are thought to become visible to the victim when about to attack. The jaguars act under the instruction of the sorcerer, who frequently changes himself into one and "leads his pack like a hunter leads his dogs." He often attacks persons in distant villages by the expedient of placing a band of rubber about his ankles and magically transporting himself almost instantaneously over long distances. He then summons his so-called pets by wiggling his fingers, and they attack their chosen victim. When their work is done, the sorcerer dissolves his jaguars and returns through the air to his own village. So great is his speed that his neighbors seldom note his momentary absence. In other instances, the sorcerer's jaguars lurk in the vicinity of his village and attack anybody who has the misfortune to encounter them in an isolated place, for like the *Yurupari* and the *aiik* the jaguars generally strike only at the solitary. They are thought to pounce upon their victims and magically to eat out their intestines. These attacks are invariably fatal. The victim is usually able to return, pale and vomiting, to his village, but dies a short time later

Three cases of jaguar attacks will be discussed below to illustrate the vividness of belief in their existence and to document the techniques and purposes of their manipulation. A middle-aged Munduruçú shaman, whose Portuguese name is Bertino, related a frightening experience that he had undergone when a young man. A fellow shaman joined Bertino one day and suggested that they go into

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the forest to hunt. The older man then invited him to sit down and rest and talk. "Are you angry at somebody, younger brother?" he inquired. When Bertino denied any ill feelings toward another, the shaman bluntly said, "You must be. Come join me in sorcery." Bertino resisted his entreaties and told him, "I am not angry at anybody, and I do not want to harm others. Before my father died, he said to me, 'Use your knowledge to cure and to feed the *putcha ši* and for other good things. Do not use it to hurt another.' And also," continued Bertino, "I do not want to be killed by my own people." But the older shaman, not dissuaded, brushed his hand down his own arm and produced a *cauši* to impress Bertino. He then waved his fingers in the air and twenty hideous jaguars surrounded Bertino, snarling and waving their tails. "Take ten for yourself, and I will take the other ten," invited the sorcerer. Bertino was paralyzed with fright, but he still refused to practice witchcraft. "Perhaps you would prefer to be killed in a war," suggested the other. Bertino replied, "I would rather be killed by the enemy than by my own people."

Having failed in his purpose, the sorcerer threatened to kill Bertino. He apparently attempted to do so on one occasion, said my informant, for he was shortly thereafter attacked by a *cauši* while fishing. This sorcerer was finally killed by his fellow Mundurucú, and his brother was later slain as a suspected witch, also.

The sorcerer's jaguars emit a whistling sound much like that of the *Yuruparí*. A long time ago a shaman who was hunting in the woods climbed a fruit tree and, while gathering the fruit high in the branches, heard a whistling noise that resembled the cry of the blue nambú bird. The shaman knew this to be the signal of the jaguar, but when he looked down from his lofty perch, he saw another hunter looking upward in search of what he believed to be a bird. The whistling grew closer, and the jaguars emerged from the brush. They carried leaves in their jaws, which they jammed into the mouth of the victim to prevent outcry before "eating his intestines." The jaguars departed, and the shaman descended from the tree and returned to his village. A short time later the victim of the jaguars arrived in the village, feverish and vomiting. The shaman was asked to treat him, but, having witnessed the attack, he turned to another shaman and said, "You treat the sick man. It was you who ate him." The stricken man died, and the men of the village executed the accused sorcerer.

The following case of jaguar sorcery is of special interest since it describes an attack of one brother upon another. These occurrences are rare in Mundurucú society, but they serve to further highlight the strong, latent sibling rivalry that appears clearly in the mythology and folklore. The incident, which was said to have occurred within the last generation, also documents techniques by which one can defend himself against the jaguars and destroy the sorcerer who is traveling in the guise of these creatures.

Two brothers, who had inherited shamanistic power from their father, were at odds because one wanted the wife of the other. The jealous brother decided to kill the husband by turning himself into a jaguar and eating him. The brothers

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

754 lived in different villages, but the sorcerer leaped the distance to his brother's village and stalked him in the forest. The married brother heard the approaching whistle of the jaguar and backtracked and lay in wait for it. When it appeared, he shot the creature in the head, the only vulnerable point in its body, and thus killed it. He then cut the jaguar's throat, thrust his hand into its body, and dragged out its liver. He mixed the liver with gunpowder and left it on the trail. After he returned home, a group of men from his brother's village arrived with the intent of killing him. The sorcerer, whose jaguar form had been slain, had returned to his village sick and had accused his brother of bewitching him. The brother explained that he had merely defended himself against his own brother, who was the real sorcerer. The assembled men believed him, and the guilty brother wasted away and died.

Cases of jaguar sorcery were extremely common among the Mundurucú. During our residence with them, one of the residents of the mission was suspected of making and spreading *couši* and turning into a jaguar at night. It was further believed that he had created other jaguars that were constantly lurking behind his house. But the presence of the priests prevented the Mundurucú residing at the mission from killing the suspected man, and they merely avoided his person and his dwelling. Even the powerful shaman who lived in the mission village had resolved to move away rather than live near such a dangerous personality.

753 754 689 756 Although all disease is believed to be caused by witchcraft, a single occurrence of illness within a community does not generally provoke direct action against an accused sorcerer. When, however, sickness becomes rife within a village, and especially when deaths result, the responsible sorcerer is sought out and killed. The practice of destroying a witch is resorted to only when the community is faced by a major threat, and the inevitability of occasional illness is usually rationalized as owing to stray *couši*. In spite of this inconsistency, the simple formula which attributes disease to witchcraft, and therefore calls for the death of the sorcerer, cannot be more rigorously applied if shamanism is to continue. Even under this modified application of the rule, the shaman's position is most precarious. One or two shamans are executed as sorcerers during an average year, and their numbers are steadily dwindling. Those shamans who are fortunate enough to escape accusation are visibly insecure, especially when the rainy season reunites people in their villages and the annual cycle of colds and epidemic diseases begin.

756 754 This constant fear induces many shamans to leave their villages and to migrate to the vicinity of the Brazilian population. As an example, there were three shamans in the village of Cabruá, one of whom rarely practiced for fear of accusation. He had been suspected of sorcery once before and had escaped retribution only because of membership in the strong family of the chief. The numerical strength and influence of his family was, however, his only protection from execution, for one need not actively practice shamanism to be accused of sorcery. The possession of the latent hereditary power of the shaman suffices

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

to establish eligibility for suspicion. Both of the two active shamans had resolved 756
to move away from Cabruá and to dwell in the isolation of their rubber avenues. 754
But neither would admit to fear of being accused of sorcery. One claimed that he wished to reside with his own kin although he was already living, as is considered proper, with his wife's relatives in Cabruá. The other said that he would find food more abundant at his rubber avenue locale. Such minor subterfuges are common among the Mundurucú when queried on an unpleasant personal subject. In reality, both shamans knew that several years had passed since the last sorcery execution in Cabruá, and neither wished to be present for the next. Also, as soon as one had made the decision to leave, the other had no choice but to follow. To be the only available suspect in the village was not a very promising prospect.

The men of a village afflicted with a great deal of illness usually seek out the most powerful shaman available and request that he not only attempt to cure the sick, but destroy the *cauši* that infect the village. He is also expected to use his great powers to detect and name the responsible sorcerer. Shamans are said to be capable of discovering and naming sorcerers at any time, but they do so only when requested by the villagers after a particularly severe epidemic or after a death from disease. Informed of the culprit, who is almost always a fellow villager, the men collectively decide to dispose of him and delegate the task to two or three of their number. But, as will be shown subsequently, such unanimity of communal decision is the ideal situation; sorcery killings are frequently stormy affairs among the contemporary Mundurucú.

Only a few Mundurucú shamans are considered to be powerful enough to destroy the *cauši* in a village and unerringly point out their creator, and it is, therefore, usually necessary to invite one from outside the community. After he has treated the sick, the visiting shaman proceeds to destroy the *cauši* and other malignant spirits within the village. He first builds a small thatch hut, no larger than necessary to contain him and his instruments, and retreats to it for the day. His first act is to lean his five *pïtpoachap* (spears), the previously described dagger-shaped instruments, against a piece of wood laid upon the floor of the hut. Next he places an ordinary steel lock in line with the *pïtpoachap*. The lock is considered to be the most effective of all these instruments owing to the *cauši*'s fear of metal, and it is referred to as the leader of the others. The shaman then blows smoke twice on the *pïtpoachap*, and they suddenly come to life and move from their leaning position to balance perfectly across the piece of wood. He blows smoke on them a third time, and the instruments then stand in a vertical position, their sharp points directed upward. Thus animated, the lock addresses the other instruments to suggest that they attack the shaman in order to test his strength. At this juncture the shaman says, "No. I only assembled you to kill *cauši*, *Tawapari*, and any other evil thing that you can find. But be careful not to harm anything that belongs to the game animals." He then flips the piece of wood upon which the lock has been lying and sends it through the thatch into the open air. The five *pïtpoachap* immediately fly after

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

it and spend the day spearing malignant spirits and objects. At nightfall, they reënter the shaman's hut, their points covered with the blood of these beings, and the practitioner asks them what variety of supernaturals they had destroyed and how many of each there were.

After he has rid the village of the evils inhabiting it, the shaman divulges the name of the sorcerer, if he believes the situation to be sufficiently serious. The accused shaman is usually killed from ambush outside his village, although some are dispatched by direct assault within its confines. Since the sorcerer's soul is believed to be dangerous even after death, another shaman must extract and destroy it immediately after the execution. This is done by brushing it from its position in the back to the top of the head with a mutúm feather. When the soul emerges from the head, it is caught in a hollow bamboo tube and cast into a fire.

Most studies of the subject conclude that sorcery executions are conducive to social cohesion, since they constitute a mechanism for the externalization of aggression and release of tension in a socially approved way, and also because they constitute a mechanism of social control. The Munduruc data tend partly to substantiate this thesis, for sorcery executions are the only occasions on which intrasocietal violence is sanctioned. Interpersonal tensions are rife among the Munduruc, but during our research no Munduruc was ever heard to raise his voice against another, and the occurrence of overt violence between men was specifically denied by informants. The social structure demanded complete harmony and cooperation; the latent and suppressed aggressions inevitable in such a situation were projected into the person of the sorcerer, and his execution was cathartic for the community. It will be shown, however, that the changing nature of this community has caused sorcery to be involved in its progressive and ongoing fission.

In spite of the fact that sorcery was a perilous practice, resort to black magic served as a covert expression of generalized hostility for the shaman, as well. Although it is impossible to induce any Munduruc to admit witchcraft, I am inclined to believe that it is actively practiced. The techniques by which evils are manufactured and propagated are well known to all shamans, and some informants claimed that sorcerers have revealed their activities to them, as in the case described above.* There is no doubt that many, if not most, accused shamans are entirely innocent of the charges, but this, of course, does not alter the function of sorcerer execution as an escape valve for repressed aggression and hostility within the society.

Aside from the suspicions, fear, and personal insecurity engendered by belief in witchery among prospective victims and shamans alike, the execution of sorcerers is frequently a source of factionalism within the society. During our residence in the village of Missão Velha, the community was split by an impending sorcery execution. Two years earlier, a powerful shaman had been called to the village to destroy the malignant objects believed to have caused an outbreak of

*See pp. 49–51.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

illness. This accomplished, the shaman informed the people of the identity of the sorcerer and implied that there was one more in the village whose name he would not reveal at that time. The accused man was duly slain, in spite of the objections of his house mate and brother-in-law. Sickness continued to trouble the village, and the shaman then revealed the name of the other guilty person. The latter, a young man named Antonio, was still present in Missão Velha during our sojourn. He remained somewhat aloof from the other men, but on occasion joined and even joked with some of those most intent upon killing him. However, the latter by no means included all the villagers. The brother-in-law of the shaman who had been killed two years before, Antonio's house mate, and the men of another of the eleven dwellings of the village opposed his execution or were at least in favor of allowing him to depart in peace. The faction that favored killing him was led by the son-in-law and the sons of the chief. The chief, himself, had rather ambivalent feelings about the case. He owed his position as chief to the mission priests, and he did not wish to bring down their inevitable wrath through another killing. But he believed in Antonio's guilt and refused to live in the same village with him. For a time he planned to shift his residence, but those plans were changed when he heard that Antonio intended to leave for the Tapajós River.

We had lived in this village for several weeks before the conflict came to our attention, for there was no external indication of disturbance in the smooth flow of everyday life. Only gradually it became evident that feelings were quite bitter. The faction that favored killing Antonio regarded him with fear and loathing. Those who favored his cause did so not out of disbelief in sorcery, but because they distrusted the honesty of his persecutor's motives, and because they were weary of the interminable conflicts in the village. They knew, however, that their cause was hopeless, and all had decided to move at their earliest convenience. If all carried out their intention, the village stood to lose 36 of its 90 people. Antonio's case was not unique; sorcery was almost invariably and deeply involved in the rapid fission process that was occurring in all Mundurucú villages.

Sorcery killings probably produced such tensions even before Mundurucú society had lost its cohesiveness. But there can be little doubt that the stronger patterns of leadership and interdependency of the past were more conducive to unanimity of action within the community on these occasions. Also, where complete concurrence could not be obtained, the dissident elements undoubtedly remained passive rather than create disharmony. The individual and the family depended completely upon larger groups for their continued existence, and, in any event, there existed no alternate residence pattern.

Sorcery and executions will undoubtedly continue even after the larger social units of extended family and village have become completely fragmented. The priests of the Cururú River mission have inveighed against belief in sorcery for more than forty years with little noticeable effect. Nor were they the first to attempt to suppress the practice. In 1876, Father Pelino de Castrovalva, the

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

754
578
797

founder of the mission of Barahill on the Tapajós River, wrote to the governor of the province of Pará the following words:

> Now one of the greatest superstitions with which I have had to battle has been that of witchcraft. What have I not said, what have I not done to wrest this pernicious superstition from their hearts? And how many deaths have they caused with these erroneous principles before the establishment of the mission? Despite all, when I begin to think that I have persuaded them to detest such an abominable vice, the first day that the missionary is missing they do the same things.[9]

[9] Cited in Tocantins, 1877, pp. 108–109.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the clan of the man who manufactured them. If he dies or moves to another village, it is quite possible that no other man of that community will belong to the clan owning the trumpets. It is, therefore, understandable that informants were often vague when asked to explain the connection between clans and instruments. Many people believed that the trumpets had souls of their own and that these were the most important spirits resident within them. And, as has been mentioned, it was commonly thought that the playing of the instruments was pleasing to the spirit mothers of the game.

The actual function of the trumpets in present-day Mundurucú society has little to do with clanship, but much to do with the maintenance of the sharp dichotomy between the sexes. The instruments are primarily the property of the village men and are expressive of their unity and identity in the face of the women. In this connection it is significant that the villages that arose along the Cururú River have never had either the men's house or the sacred trumpets. As a corollary, the gulf between the sexes in social participation and labor that characterizes the savannah villages is lacking. On the Cururú the nuclear family is the basic social and economic unit. Men eat and sleep with their families and join their wives in tasks that would be considered degrading by a savannah dweller. But the demands of the rubber trade, combined with the covert hostility and factionalism that exist in all Mundurucú villages, are currently promoting migration from the savannah communities either to the Cururú River or to isolated residence along other streams. The end result will be the complete lapse of the sacred instruments and the men's organization.

The only other extant ceremonial is the one devoted to curing victims of soul loss. Since human souls are stolen by the spirit mothers of the game, this rite is also one of the few remaining religious acts that deals with this category of supernaturals. It is most significant that all the important means of obtaining the good will of these spirits and the increase of game have lapsed, although the Mundurucú have clung tenaciously to the technique of defending themselves against the spirits and rectifying the damage done by them. It may be said of the religion of the contemporary Mundurucú that it has retained those items that specifically protect the individual and, to a less degree the society, from harm though dropping those features that were not so immediately defensive in nature and which were more expressive of the integration and central values of the society.

To continue this line of thought, we turn to a consideration of those elements of Mundurucú religion that have maintained greatest vitality—shamanism and sorcery.[6] The two institutions are inseparable in the Mundurucú mind; the shaman cures diseases, which are invariably caused by sorcery, and the sorcerers are recruited from the ranks of the shamans. But disease, its explanation and its cure, has much greater significance than as a system of belief. Kluckhohn has shown for the Navaho that sorcery plays a vital role in the release of aggression,[7] and Beatrice Blythe Whiting's monograph *Paiute Sorcery*[8] shifts emphasis somewhat and stresses the function of sorcery as a mechanism of social control. Both of these fac-

[6] Kluckhohn, 1944.
[7] Whiting, 1950.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

178
771
152
754
578

ture, but primarily that of aggression release, play a part in Mundurucú sorcery also.

In a previously published work[1] I set forth the thesis that aggression cannot be tolerated in Mundurucú society because of the combination of a matrilocal residence rule and a patrilineal descent system. Under these social conditions each man has two sets of allegiances, one to his clan and the other to the household and village of his wife. Since the two do not coincide, he occupies social roles that potentially can conflict. That is, a quarrel between households or villages may well pit fellow clansmen against each other, and, correspondingly, conflict between clans can cause internal dissension within villages and even households. Open aggression is therefore avoided among the Mundurucú, and, although interpersonal and interfactional tensions abound within the group, they are generally suppressed. The feeling of horror at the outward display of hostility between men is so strong that informants were unwilling to give data upon its occurrence, although it occasionally happens.

Violence during warfare or the execution of a sorcerer, however, is thoroughly condoned. Attacks upon enemy tribes served to channel hostility upon surrogate objects outside the society and thus promoted social cohesion, but this avenue of release is no longer open. The only remaining catharsis for aggression is the practice of sorcery and the execution of suspected sorcerers. Another alternative, withdrawal from the frustrating situation, has been made possible by the general pacification of the upper Tapajós area and the consequent possibility of flight from village life. In former times it would have been most risky for an individual or family to forsake the mutual security offered by the local group, but today it is common for Mundurucú to live in the midst of the Brazilian rubber-gathering population. Even within the confines of Mundurucú territory, the tendency toward neolocal residence makes isolated or semi-isolated existence socially acceptable.

Mundurucú sorcery has a number of interesting facets. It is impossible to induce any shaman to admit the [illegible] knowledge of witchcraft techniques suggests that it indeed exists. Granting that witchcraft is not completely a figment of the Mundurucú imagination, the practitioner undoubtedly derives considerable gratification of his antisocial inclinations. Also, the Mundurucú generally fix suspicion of sorcery upon the more deviant shamans. Thus of the two people known by me to have been suspected of witchcraft, one was a rather humorless, silent, and aloof man, and the other, although more outgoing, far outstripped the other members of the village in rubber production. The threat of sorcery accusation, it may be inferred, tends to enforce social participation and conformity.

These factors of covert release of aggression and social control are, however, applicable only to the ranks of shamans. Persons born without shamanistic powers are unable to practice witchcraft, and sorcerers do not practice on behalf of others. But the dogged persistence of belief in black magic among the members of the society at large suggests that it does perform a very vital social function. It has al-

[1] Murphy, 1957.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ready been mentioned that depopulation, the disintegration of the social structure, and the decline of such highly valued activities as warfare and the hunt have robbed the Munduruci of much that was vital and positive in their way of life and left them disheartened and apathetic. Frustration, in the classic paradigm, normally leads to aggression, the expression of which is forbidden in this culture. Fear of sorcery among the Munduruci is a means of embodying and phrasing in understandable terms not only the manifold anxieties of their existence but the latent aggression that nearly all members of the society carry within them. In this connection, it will be remembered that the intrusive objects made by the sorcerer are spread abroad and are not usually directed against any one person. The sorcerer is then, as the Munduruci say, malevolent toward society in general. This is not only logically consistent with the indiscriminate ravages of epidemic disease, but it also suggests that the sorcerers of the sorcerer displace generalized aggression to his person and eradicate it through his execution.

That considerable aggression is unleashed upon the executed sorcerer can be inferred from the quality of the executions and the way in which informants report them. Many, if not most, executions take place from ambush, but some are bloody affairs in which the accused is beaten to death with clubs. And the Munduruci enthusiastically relate these episodes with obvious hatred for the victim. The men of the village of Cabruá derived evident satisfaction by pointing to a brown smear on the posts of their men's house and saying: "That is where we wiped the blood of our last sorcerer from our hands." This emotional intensity parallels that reported by Kluckhohn among the Navaho,[1] and among both peoples this is atypical behavior.

Since aggression is related not only to real interpersonal differences but to frustration and general insecurity, it should be expected that witchcraft accusations would be most common in periods of stress. This is borne out by the Munduruci practice of refraining from direct action against the sorcerer until [illegible] do not have sufficient historical material to demonstrate conclusively, as did Kluckhohn, that sorcery troubles are correlated with historical periods of crisis. The best primary source on the Munduruci, the report of the Brazilian engineer Antonio Tocantins, in 1875, describes sorcery executions as extremely frequent and one of the major problems of the Barabal mission.[2] But it is difficult to evaluate the significance of this data and to control all the variables in the situation without similarly complete reports from other periods. In 1875 the Munduruci still waged war and therefore had available a means of expression of hostility which had the obvious advantage of being directed outside the society. But on the other hand, Munduruci society was then being subjected to its greatest threat since the contact with the whites, for these were the first years of the rubber-extraction period, and the Indians themselves were becoming increasingly involved in the industry. White rubber tappers were penetrating the area in growing numbers, and the mission had just been established. In

[1] Kluckhohn, 1944, p. 56.
[2] Tocantins, 1877, pp. 107-111.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

756
754
152
578

view of the complexity of the problem and the paucity of data, however, it can only be concluded that sorcery was also common in times past. Whether or not accusations and executions have increased in number or in proportion to the number of shamans cannot be positively ascertained, but it is highly significant that the institution has been perpetuated into the present, a period that has seen the disappearance of much of Munduruú religious activity.

It has been said that the shaman occupies a most precarious role today. The source of much of the evil threatening the group, he also is the only person who can cope with the harmful forces, and his services are in great demand. The Munduruú are deeply concerned with illness and frequently sought relief in the medicine afforded by my wife and me and by the mission and Indian Service Post. But given their theory of disease, modern medicines were inadequate for a complete cure and were believed efficacious only in healing the damage done by supernatural agencies. The removal and destruction of the latter can only be accomplished by the shaman. The role thus has a dual function; society purges itself of repressed hostility through the imputation of malevolence to the shaman, and it is also the means by which society protects itself from the believed evil.

This dual function makes shamanism a most ambivalent practice. All but the most powerful practitioners, who usually are called upon to detect sorcerers, are in great and continued danger. The general reduction of the Munduruú population has proportionately thinned the ranks of the shaman, and executions have further reduced their numbers. Many leave the Munduruú country in flight from execution parties or in fear of future accusation. Others refuse to practice shamanism in the hope, often vain, that they will thus shield themselves from suspicion. The result is that many villages are without shamans, and their residents accordingly lose another motive for remaining members of nucleated communities.

The involvement of sorcery in repressed conflict may be seen through an examination of actual cases. The intragroup dispute in which the village of Missão Velha split on whether to kill the accused Antonio is a case in point. Antonio was the most industrious rubber tapper of the village and was much disliked by the family of the chief. The latter group was, as in most Munduruú villages, the strongest aggregation of kinsmen in the community, since it included not only the sons-in-law of the chief, but also his sons, who are customarily exempt from the matrilocal residence rule. Relations were strained between the chief's group and the men of many other households of the village, for the latter looked upon the chief as the appointee of the missionaries and resented the strength of his family. These dissidents sided with the condemned shaman. They were not, however, willing to court the possibility of open factional struggle by offering physical defense of Antonio, but resolved instead to leave the village.

Another case of sorcery, this time in the savannah village of Cabruá, saw the men of the village determined to kill the stepson of the chief. The latter, supported by his sons and sons-in-law, intervened, and the man's life was spared. In a

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

third village, however, the power of the chief's family must have been weak, for both he and his son were slain as sorcerers by the other men of the village. The tendency for villages to fractionate because of sorcery fears and accusations is probably greater now than in the past. Not only is village cohesion in general much weaker, but the disappearance of such leadership activities as leading war parties and trading on behalf of the village as a whole has made it most difficult for the chief to obtain the consensus necessary to carrying out an execution. It must not be thought, however, that lack of unanimity in sorcerer killings indicates a decline in belief in black magic; it rather reflects distrust of the sincerity of the accusers and the existence of latent factionalism that may not be directly caused by witchcraft. But these occasions bring conflicts to a head and open breaches that are in many cases irreparable and can be resolved only by the removal of one party.

This analysis of the Mundurucú data indicates that although the institution of sorcery may be viewed in one light as socially integrative, so far as it acts as a cathartic for aggression, it may also be most disruptive of social cohesion, for it often aggravates tensions.* It would seem that shamanism and sorcery have become complementary to the central direction of social and economic change. The ecological accommodation to increased participation in rubber production calls for the dispersal of the population into ever smaller units in the vicinity of the stands of wild rubber trees. Correspondingly, sorcery conflicts tend to disintegrate larger village units while being integrative for factions within the village, which then commonly establish themselves as small local groups. This is not the only means by which social fission occurs. Latent conflicts that do not involve sorcery sometimes cause families and factions to leave villages; others leave because of the economic expediency of residence near their rubber avenues. But sorcery remains as a contributing motivation for the participants in the process. The Mundurucú example thus suggests that the institution of sorcery may promote the cohesion of a society as a whole, but only where other bases for such cohesion exist.

The close relationship of religion to the social structure can be seen quite as clearly in the context of change as in a synchronic dimension. As the society has become progressively divested of those mechanisms that integrated tribe and village, so also have group religious activities fallen into abeyance. What remains are the essentially individual practices of shamanism and sorcery. This is the same process noted for other parts of South America by Steward, and which he has phrased as part of a change in "level of sociocultural integration."† But beyond the scope of participation in religious activity we have seen another selective factor determining which segments of religion will persist. This, in brief, is the simple question of whether the element serves some social function in the changed setting. By this criterion, the warfare ceremonies have totally disappeared, and the ceremonies for the animal spirits have declined with the shift of a large part of the population from hunting to fishing. Similarly, the

* Kluckhohn (1944, p. 71) has noted the presence of disruptive elements in Navaho witchcraft also, although the analysis of these tendencies were beyond the scope of his treatise.
† Steward, 1955.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

mediate reality and caused their transmission to the young to become attenuated.

Shamanism and the corollary belief in sorcery have had, however, remarkable persistence among the Mundurucú. This continuity is not, perhaps, so unusual when one considers that similar practices may be found among the rural Amazonian population and even among the lower classes in north Brazilian cities. The Mundurucú shaman is believed to be endowed at birth with special supernatural powers inherited from his father. He usually receives tutelage in the art from his elders, but even if he is uninstructed and never engages in actual practice, he is still considered a shaman and capable of special relations with the supernatural.

The shaman's major task is the cure of disease and injury. Formerly he also had ceremonial roles, but these are largely defunct today. Disease is thought to be caused by intrusive objects made and spread by sorcerers, and the shaman extracts them by the technique, widespread in South America, of blowing tobacco smoke on the patient and removing the malignant object by suction or rubbing. There are generally one or two shamans, but seldom more, in savannah villages.

The skills of the shamans are in constant demand, and great dependence is placed on them. But despite the high prestige that they are accorded, their position is ambivalent. Although only shamans can cure disease, only they also have the supernatural power of disease-causing witchcraft, and a sorcerer is believed to be a shaman "gone bad." Shamans are generally not thought to practice sorcery with limited ends and against particular persons. Their magic can be used to inflict harm on individuals, but they are more commonly believed to spread malignant objects that attack and sicken people indiscriminately. The

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

754 [683] The shaman is said by the Mundurucú to be "angry at everybody," and he continues his practice until apprehended and executed.

The sorcerer is thus visualized as the bearer of latent and generalized aggression that is expressed by covert means, and it is possible to infer, from the beliefs surrounding the institution, the projection and expurgation of repressed hostility within the society at large. Witchcraft has particular tenacity because it serves to provide the practitioner of the art with a means of aggression release, and it provides the members of the community with a technique of displacing their own hostilities to his person and deriving further catharsis through his execution. Witchcraft also serves to explain the ills that inflict humanity, and provides a means of defense against them. The problems resolved by belief in sorcery and shamanism are almost universal in scope—disease, death, and social tensions—and are not so narrowly keyed to the variables of Mundurucú society and economy as were the defunct ceremonies. The problem of repressed antagonism is especially acute among the Mundurucú, however, because of the injunction against the open display and playing out of hostility. [578]

683 754 Ideally, the execution of a sorcerer is carried out with the consensus of nearly all members of the community. Such agreement was probably more easily obtained in the past when political controls were firmer and less subject to dispute and the bonds of mutual interdependence among villagers stronger. Today, however, sorcery accusations frequently bring factionalism perilously near the surface. In one savannah community, the chief and one of his sons were slain as sorcerers, and in another only the intervention of the chief and his family saved his stepson from the same fate. That chiefs and their families are so com-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

monly entangled in sorcery cases, either as accused or accusers, reflects the strains in the political system. Reduced village size contributes to the disruptive effects of sorcery accusations, for even if a man has only a few defenders, this may constitute a significant bloc within the community under current circumstances.

One result of witch killings has been a decrease in the number of shamans. This not only includes people who were actually executed, but also those who escaped or who left for fear of future accusation. Given the inevitability of disease and death and the Mundurucú belief that sorcerers are the responsible agents, the position of the shamans is very insecure. There had been no sorcery killings in Cabruá for several years, as of the time of our stay, but illnesses and deaths had occurred. The step son of the chief was being effectively protected by his family, leaving two other shamans open to accusation. One decided to move to his rubber-avenue home on the Tropas River, and the other immediately followed suit rather than be faced with the unhappy prospect of being the only available scapegoat. Cabruá was then left without a practicing shaman, and the community was deprived of one of the services that village life traditionally afforded.

Changes in Mundurucú religion show a close relationship to economic and social shifts. Aspects of belief and practice that promoted and affirmed the well-being and values of the society at large and which were best staged by a unified social group have disappeared. What remains are essentially practices that are defensive against prevailing fears and anxieties and which are highly individualistic in practice. A circular process is at work here. The decline of group ceremonial not only reflects the weakening of Mundurucú social structure, but it has aided in its debilitation. Fellow clan members are no longer united by

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

them through its combined purchasing power and its members have access to them. The sharing of food also fortifies the ties of interdependence. A family does not go hungry unless everybody in the village is in similar straits, and the unlucky hunter, the traveler, or the family whose garden was ruined by armadillos or wild pigs may count on housemates or neighbors in other households for aid.

Within the household, the framework of social cohesion is provided by the core of related resident females. And although the men of the household are marginal participants in its internal workings, they identify themselves with its interests and occupants to an increasing degree, as their marital union grows in age and stability. But the men are also integrated on the level of the village through the men's house, which serves as political forum, social club, and center of a male religious cult. The men's house also is the place where members of the same moiety and, perhaps, of the same phratry associate. Bonds of kinship, which ultimately include all Mundurucú in a limited set of relationships, are important deterrents to any motivation to move into a more isolated existence.

The savannah villages appear to the observer as extremely well-knit and unified organizations; and the ease with which new residents or visitors are integrated into them is an impressive display of tribal solidarity. But such harmony is difficult to maintain. Hostilities may be repressed, but not indefinitely or completely. Mundurucú culture provides few escape valves for aggression. Warfare was formerly the ideal vent for latent hostility, and it had the dual advantage of affording an external outlet and requiring social solidarity by arraying the tribe against a common foe.

The lapse of warfare left only the execution of sorcerers

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182 578 754 683 as the single permissible occasion on which violence was condoned. Kluckhohn's[9] view is well founded that the sorcerer's practice and his execution are cathartic for him and the society, but it is still significant that aggression is released within the society and not outside. This would not disrupt a society that enjoyed other and stronger bases of solidarity, and it might well promote integration; but the result among the modern Mundurucú has been the intrusion of sorcery accusations into factional disputes and frequent failure to obtain agreement on executions. Thus, not only shamans but disaffected persons also leave village life.

182 578 [837] Conflicts between persons and groups are not always connected with witchcraft. The Mundurucú men commonly engage in clandestine escapades with the wives of others. The injured husband does not court open conflict against the adulterer, however, and resentments are generally well contained. Another cause of hostility is the [622] numerical and social strength of the chief's family and the question of the legitimacy of his succession. The only recourse left to dissident parties is to withdraw from the situation. They may go to another village, which was a common means of resolving the situation in the nineteenth century also, or they may move to permanent residence at their rubber avenue, which today happens more frequently. The choice of the latter alternative may end the tension, but the severance of social relations obviously disrupts integration, especially when it occurs frequently.

182 591 596 [578] Social tensions commonly cause people to leave their villages. Concomitantly, there has been a progressive weakening of the bonds that hold them. The diminished size of the extended family has made the matrilocality on which it is based more vulnerable to situational factors

[9] Kluckhohn, 1944.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

all Mundurucú still believe firmly in the supernatural causation of illness. Thus, the drugs of the white man are considered efficacious in the repair of the damage caused by the sorcerer's evil objects, but this in no way circumvents the necessity for the shaman to extract them. A corollary of the continued belief in native explanations of disease is the persistence of accusations of sorcery and the occasional killing of witches.

The only shaman in recent practice in Missão Velha was executed as a sorcerer in 1950. It is now necessary to call a shaman from another village or to bring the sick person to him. The lack of an actively practicing shaman has not prevented another case of sorcery from arising in the village, for the accused in this instance was a shaman by descent. The case will be described in some detail, for it illustrates how political factionalism, sorcery, and general disaffection have combined as fission elements in the loosely integrated Cururú River villages.

Several months before we stayed in Missão Velha, a great deal of illness caused the chief's son-in-law and sons to seek the services of Pedro, the most renowned of all Mundurucú shamans and a resident of the mission. Pedro, without the knowledge of the priests, of course, went to Missão Velha and performed the necessary acts to destroy all evil objects in the vicinity of the village. He then informed the others that the man responsible was one Antonio, a resident of Missão Velha whose father was a shaman, although he himself never practiced. The chief wanted no trouble and planned for a time to move away from the supposedly malignant Antonio, but the younger men of his family were determined to kill the sorcerer. Certain other men of the village, however, were not fully convinced of Antonio's guilt and opposed his condemnation. Their doubts were not a reflection of skepticism in

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

supernatural belief, but arose from hostility to the chief's group, Antonio's most persistent persecutors. The fact that they would also doubt the accuracy and integrity of the most powerful shaman in the tribe is indicative of the intensity of this animosity. Some of the men opposed to the execution felt, on the other hand that Antonio was in all probability guilty, but expressed revulsion at the idea of more bloodshed and would have rather preferred to let him depart in peace. In any even, no unanimous community action could be taken.

The split in the village was exactly along the lines of the two village political factions Favoring the execution of Antonio were the chief, his two sons, his two sons-in-law, and the brother and brother-in-law of one son-in-law. The opposition consisted of the brother-in-law and former co-resident of a shaman killed at Missão Velha two years earlier, the brother-in-law and house mate of the accused Antonio, and a household whosemen were related affinally to the chief's group. The position of the latter house in the dispute is of particular interest, for it included the brother-in-law, brother, and nephew of that son-in-law of the chief who was the moving spirit of the other faction. The people of this household had originally moved to Missão Velha to be near the latter kinsman.

The dilemma was finally resolved when the frightened Antonio decided to move completely out of the Mundurucú country to the relative safety of the Tapajós River. Those who defended him, however, were completely alienated from the village, and all had made plans to move. The man whose brother-in-law was killed two years ago was ready to settle permanently near his rubber avenue, the brother-in-law of the accused contemplated his departure, and the members of the third household wanted to move farther upstream. We left Missão Velha before the shifts

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

occurred. If all the planned moves took place, however, the net loss to the village would be 38 out of 90 people, the residents of three of the ten occupied houses. As a footnote to this episode, Antonio fled shortly after our departure, but he made the fatal error of settling in a Mundurucú hamlet on the lower Cururú River. His reputation was, of course, widely known, and he was slain by his new fellow-villagers. [683]

To our knowledge the dispute never flared into an open display of aggression. On a few occasions the accused man was seen to talk to one of the men who wished to kill him and, more rarely, there was mutual visiting. Hostility between Mundurucú is generally more open on the Cururú than in the savannahs, but violence is still suppressed. Here, too, the only escape valve consists in killing suspected sorcerers; otherwise, one may move away from the object of hostility. The latter is easily done in the socio-economic framework of the Cururú settlements, for interpersonal and interfamilial dependence is low, and individuals have correspondingly greater mobility than on the savannahs.

Although no personal violence attends these disputes, the facts of conflict and withdrawal are socially disruptive beyond their effects on village membership. In the above-described conflict, two brothers were ranged in opposite factions, because one had chosen to follow the stand in defense of the accused taken by the oldest member of his household. And the position of the latter placed him in conflict with one of his wife's brothers, who favored killing Antonio. An even more interesting split occurred in a household whose inhabitants were absent from the village during my research. The oldest man and head of the house wished to avoid strife by taking no action against the condemned man, but his son, who resided with the father, was

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

159 578 754 756 a leader in the movement for execution. Although many of these bonds were probably not permanently fractured by the dispute, they were all certainly placed under strain. The fact that first-degree kinsmen, not to mention clan fellows, can become embroiled in internecine strife that can result in the withdrawal of one of the parties is indicative of the progressive weakening of kin bonds. The ethic of harmony and nonviolence that was associated with the traditional institutions of descent and residence continues to some extent on the Cururú River, but it does not prevent social disruption.

184 571 [592] Another noteworthy contrast between Missão Velha and the savannah villages is the lower level of social interaction in the former. It has been pointed out that the household, most often a nuclear family, is the basic economic unit of the Cururú River Mundurucú. The same applies to everyday social intercourse, for not only are the men's house and the all-village collective female labor of the savannah farinha shed absent, but visiting between houses is also less frequent. After the day's labors, the husband, wife, and children usually sit around their own fire to eat and talk, and afterward retire to their hammocks. Occasionally a neighbor and his family will visit briefly. Visiting is almost [574] always done in groups with two or three families coming together at one time. The all-male or all-female gatherings of the savannahs which have for their respective nuclei the men's house and the farinha shed are absent.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE CURURÚ VILLAGES

182 579 The conflict over sorcery in Missão Velha is typical of the schisms constantly arising in the Cururú villages and which account, in part, for the fact that the average village population is on the decline with a corresponding increase in the number of villages. In addition, many people are

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

made the tribe useful to the whites. It was important to the Brazilians to maintain the friendship and virtual autonomy of the Mundurucú; the group was accordingly spared some of the severe contact traumata expetienced by other Indian tribes of the rain forest.

The social system resulting from the first set of changes in Mundurucú social structure of which we have record persists (with some further modifications) in the present-day savannah villages. From one point of view, it might be said that these early alterations had one over-all function: they fulfilled the new social need of accommodation to Brazilian society. Peaceable relations were established through mercenary service and trade in manioc flour, and these were the means through which the Mundurucú acquired trade items. But the fact of a system of interrelations between Brazilians and Mundurucú meant that the social system of the latter had become vulnerable to changes in the former. Thus, when the direction of the Amazonian economy turned to rubber extraction, the Mundurucú were accordingly affected.

The rubber boom was roughly concurrent with the general pacification of the middle Amazon region. The Mundurucú were needed then as workers, and not as warriors. For the most part they turned to rubber tapping to get merchandise. The total lapse of military activity undercut some of the bases of Mundurucú social solidarity and exposed the institution of leadership to the strife inherent in the political organization. Witchcraft and the execution of sorcerers continued—there are no data to indicate either an increase or decrease of the practices—but in a new social setting. The formerly prevailing consensus in executing sorcerers, which was a reflection of social solidarity, is now difficult to obtain, and the custom today disrupts cohesion.

offense against his first wife, a native daughter of the village, was beyond their endurance. Dibui refused to divorce the new wife, to whom he was greatly attached, but took her to Cabruá where he left her in the care of his father. He validated his polygyny by pointing to the tradition that this was a prerogative of chiefs.

V

This brings us through most of the key features of Mundurucú culture and social structure and to the point at which this paper began. And since this is in essence a tragic tale, we will see in this final section how the ring must inevitably close on Dibui. He had offended all the Mundurucú canons of taste and ethics and had become a source of strain in this small and tightly knit society. Now the forces of social control became operative and he felt the heavy pressure of his fellow men.

Having left his pretty bride in the safe confines of his father's house, Dibui returned to Cabitutu to set matters right and quiet the discontent. But he continued in his arrogant and demanding ways and the sentiments of the villagers became further inflamed, with no small assistance from his first wife and her family. There grew among them a firm determination to kill him, and the intention might have been immediately carried out were it not for his ties in Cabruá. This was an important collective decision by the residents of Cabitutu, for his execution would set off a train of repercussions that would seriously disrupt their relations with Cabruá and with the trader. Moreover, Dibui did not have shamanistic power and the usual post-hoc explanation for the killing of a deviant--that he was a perpetrator of black magic--could not be used in his case. But his continued presence was even more disruptive, and Dibui's life was placed in serious jeopardy.

In the meantime, the person of the young wife was not as secure as Dibui thought it would be. Her husband was away and she was a rather wayward girl; whatever rectitude she possessed was certainly no match for the insistent attempts upon her body by the men of Cabruá. Soon, all of the men of the village except those prohibited by incest regulations--and there were some exceptions even to this--were enjoying the favors of Dibui's young wife in the underbrush surrounding the village, at the stream, in the forest, in the gardens, or wherever they might find her alone. The enthusiasm of the men was understandable from her physical attractiveness, but there was another component to their attentions. Whenever they related their exploits to me, the men would express great satisfaction at what they were doing to Dibui, for the Cabruá men, too, disliked Dibui with some intensity. Even in his father's village his presence threatened the smooth tenor of social relations, and he was considered unbearably deviant. But physical sanctions against Dibui would have been impossible in the village in which his father was a chief, and the men of Cabruá attacked his manhood instead. There could be no doubt about the aggressive character of their seductions, nor of its success in dealing a mortal blow to Dibui's prestige by reducing him to a helpless butt of laughter.

Dibui soon heard of the events in Cabruá from members of his family and immediately returned. He made frontal accusations against many of the men and even mentioned my Brazilian assistant (probably correctly) as being among those